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THE TRAGEDY RHESUS

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BY

JOHN C. ROLFE

ACTING PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Cornell University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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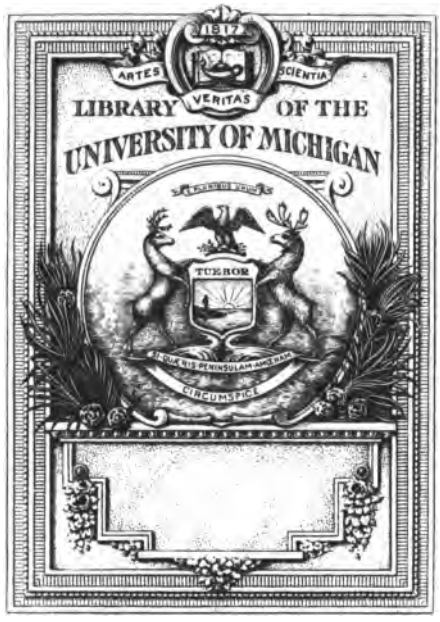
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THE TRAGEDY RHESUS.[1]

BY JOHN C. ROLFE.

ALTHOUGH the Rhesus has been handed down to us as one of the tragedies of Euripides, its genuineness was suspected even in antiquity, for in the first of the two arguments which we possess, after a brief outline of the plot, we read these words: *τοῦτο τὸ δρᾶμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν, Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνειν χαρακτῆρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνη τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὁμολογεῖ.*

In modern times the discussion was first revived over two centuries ago by Joseph Scaliger, whose conclusion is:[2] 'auctor Rhesi vetustissimus, qui sine dubio non est Euripides.'

Since his time the discussion has been vigorously carried on, and almost every one who has given his attention to the study of Euripides, or of the Greek drama in general, has had something to say on the question. In 1863 Frederic Hagenbach, who took the authorship of the Rhesus as the subject of his inaugural dissertation,[3] did a service to future investigators by giving[4] a full list of those who had discussed the question up to his time, together with a brief summary of their views.

To this dissertation the reader may be referred for fuller particulars. It is enough to say here that while the majority of critics are of the opinion that the play is not the work of Euripides, hardly any two agree as to the author or the time in which he lived. It has

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[1] This paper, written in Latin, was accepted in 1885 by the classical faculty of the Cornell University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. While the general plan of the dissertation remains unchanged, it has been wholly rewritten, and a number of additions and corrections have been made.

[2] *Proleg. ad Manilium*, pp. vi. fol.

[3] *De Rheso Tragoedia*, Basle, 1863.

[4] pp. 6, 7, and 51–62.

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been ascribed to Sophocles,[1] to the younger Euripides,[2] to one of the Alexandrine Pleiad,[3] and to an obscure and tasteless imitator,[4] about whose period there is a wide divergence of opinion. One distinguished critic[5] thought that the many absurdities which he saw in the Rhesus could best be accounted for by supposing that it was a combination of a tragedy and a comedy, intended for the fourth place in a tetralogy, in lieu of a satyric drama. This last view has found only a single supporter.[6]

The opposite view, that our Rhesus was written by Euripides, was ably sustained by Vater[7] and Hartung,[8] and is still held by some competent critics.

Hagenbach's dissertation was reviewed favorably by Rauchenstein,[9] and unfavorably by Schenkel.[10] The question has since been made the subject of special discussion by Menzer,[11] who supported Hermann's view; by Albert,[12] who thought the Rhesus a youthful work of Euripides; by Nöldecke,[13] who merely decides that the drama was not written by any one of the three great tragedians, nor in their time; and by Eysert,[14] who does not attempt to determine the author and date of the play, but only to show that it is not abnormal in its language, and that it is not the work of an imitator.

Views on the date and authorship of the Rhesus have also been pronounced incidentally in histories of Greek literature and works of various kinds dealing with the Greek drama. Such views are more likely to be unbiased, and the present state of the controversy may be shown, and incidentally that the question is still an open one, by quoting three opinions of this kind.

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[1] Gruppe, *Ariadne*, pp. vii–x.
[2] M. Anton. Delrio, *Proleg. in Senecae Tragoedias*, p. xxi.
[3] Hermann, *Opuscula*, III. pp. 262–310.
[4] Hagenbach and others.
[5] Dindorf, *Euripides, Ed. Oxon.* pp. 560 fol.
[6] Spengler, *De Rheso Tragoedia*, Program d. gym. z. Düren, 1857.
[7] *Vindiciae.* [8] *Euripides Restitutus.*
[9] *Jahn's Jahrb. f. Phil.* 89, pp. 569–571.
[10] *Philologus*, XX. p. 484.
[11] *De Rheso Tragoedia*, Berlin, 1867.
[12] *De Rheso Tragoedia*, Halle, 1876.
[13] *De Rhesi fabulae aetate et forma*, Schwerin, 1877.
[14] *Rhesus im Lichte des Eur. Sprachgebrauches*, Böhm. Leipa, 1891.

Bergk in his *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*[1] discusses the matter at some length; his view may be summarized as follows:—

The Rhesus is the work of an imitator of Aeschylus, who lived after the close of the Peloponnesian war, but before the time of Alexander the Great. He has followed his model closely in the language and in the external details, but has missed the Aeschylean spirit. The play does not deserve the excessively severe criticism which has been passed on it. The choruses, especially the beautiful one beginning with v. 527, are deserving of the highest praise.[2] It must be admitted, however, that the author lacked dramatic power, and that he has not made the most of his subject, which is well adapted to a drama.[3] *The play shows not the slightest sign of the style of Euripides.*[4] It cannot be Alexandrine. The author has been indirectly influenced by Euripides and his school. Bergk's view with regard to the alleged Σοφόκλειον χαρακτῆρα of the Rhesus had best be quoted in full: '*Von dem Geiste des Sophokles ist hier nichts wahrzunehmen*, und wenn uns auch keine von den frühesten Tragödien des Sophokles erhalten ist, so können wir doch zuversichtlich voraussetzen, dass sie des grossen Namens nicht unwürdig waren. Indes enthält jene Bemerkung, richtig verstanden, einen beachtenswerthen Fingerzeig. Sophokles hat in der ersten Periode seiner dicterischen Thätigkeit sich vorzugsweise an Aeschylus angeschlossen und namentlich den Stil jene Meisters sich angeeignet, jedoch in der massvollen Weise, die jedes Werk des Sophokles kennzeichnet. An diese älteren Tragödien des Sophokles mochte der Rhesus hinsichtlich der Behandlung der Sprache erinnern; *denn nur diesen Punkt hatten jene Kritiker im Auge.*'

The other side of the question is supported by Christ in his *Griechische Litteraturgeschichte.*[5] He says: 'Der Rhesus ist nichts anderes als ein *Iliadis carmen diductum in actus.* Die Echtheit der Tragödie ward nach den Didaskalien schon in dem Altertum angezweifelt, in-

[1] Vol. III. pp. 612–619.

[2] Bergk thinks that this chorus may be derived from an old '*Volkslied.*'

[3] The opposite view is held by many critics. See especially Beck, *Diatribes*, p. 266.

[4] P. 615. 'Im Uebrigen hat der Rhesus nicht die entfernteste Aehnlichkeit mit der Weise des Euripides . . . wovon sich nicht die geringste Spur zeigt.'

[5] In Iwan Müllers *Handbuch*, Vol. VII. pp. 203, 204.

dem die alexandrinischen Kunstrichter in ihr mehr den sophokleischen Character finden wollten. *Das kann sich nun kaum auf etwas anderes als den Mangel an euripideischem Pathos beziehen; denn von der eigentlichen Kunst des Sophokles lässt sich noch weniger etwas in der Tragödie finden.* Aber dieselbe weicht so sehr von der Art der Medea, der Troades, und aller erhaltenen Tragödien des Euripides ab, dass sie entweder aus ein ganz anderen Kunstperiode unseres Dichters stammt oder überhaupt fälschlich demselben zugeschrieben wurde. Für die Unechtheit sprachen sich Valckenaer und Hermann; aber dass Chorlieder[1] von so kunstvollem und reichem Versbau wie die des Rhesos sind, in der Zeit der alexandrinischen Pleias, an welchem Hermann dachte, noch gedichtet worden seien, *hat durchaus keine Wahrscheinlichkeit.* Glaubwürdiger ist daher die Ansicht der alten Gramatiker Krates, Dionysodorus, und Parmeniskos,[2] denen sich in unserer Zeit Vater und Hartung angeschlossen haben, dass der Rhesus ein Jugendstück des Euripides sei. In der That hatte Euripides nach den Didaskalien, wie in der Hypothesis bezeugt ist, einen Rhesus geschrieben, und konnte demnach höchstens nur davon die Rede sein, dass der euripideische Rhesos durch das gleichnamige Stück eines anderen Tragikers verdrängt worden sei. Auf die Jugendzeit des Euripides fürht aber auch der politische Hintergrund der erhaltenen Tragödie, der mit der Gründung von Amphipolis am Strymon (um 453) zusammenhängt. Der Rhesos ist also das älteste Stück des Euripides, und aus dem Vergleich desselben mit der Medea kann man ermessen, welche ausserordentliche Fortschritte der Dichter in der Darstellungen der Leidenschaft und der Erregung tragischer Effeckte gemacht hat.'

If beside these views we set those of v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, we shall see how little the best scholars agree about the Rhesus. In his brilliant monograph entitled *De Rhesi scholiis disputatiuncula* he says:[3] 'Constat hanc tragoediam circa Demosthenis aetatem *ex imitatione cum Sophoclis tum Euripidis* ortam esse Athenis.' In his edition of the Herakles[4] of Euripides he adds: 'Die nachahmung des Sophokles ist in den motiven und der stiliserung der personen nicht minder greifbar als in der diction und namentlich der metrik.'

[1] Cf. Bergk's opinion of the Choruses, p. 63 above.

[2] As v. Wilamowitz says (p. 71 below) it is not certain that Parmeniscus held this view. [3] p. 12. [4] p. 41.

Foreseeing that this view will be assailed, he says:[1] 'Quaesiverit quispiam *ex caecis praecipue quorum ferax haec aetas est Sophoclis admiratoribus*, quomodo is qui tot et tam gravia vitia Rheso exprobaverit, de Sophoclea cogitare potuerit imitatione.' His answer is that the '*plumbeus imitator*' did not do justice to his model. He has but a slight opinion of the play, which he characterizes as '*mediocris ingenii fetus*.'

That two centuries of discussion have led to so little result, and that there is still an excuse for writing on the question, is due in a great measure to the methods of the disputants. Almost without exception they have begun with a preconceived theory of the authorship of the play, and have supported their theory without regard to any other possibility. This is especially true of Valckenaer, Beck, Hermann, Gruppe, Vater, and Hartung. These earlier disputants, too, have argued largely on what are called aesthetic grounds; that is to say, they have attempted to show that the Rhesus is or is not worthy of Euripides. How subjective and how thoroughly unsatisfactory this kind of criticism is, especially when used to support a preconceived view, may be judged from the results. Valckenaer, Hermann, and others of that faction saw absolutely no merit in the drama; it seemed to them a pitiful piece of patchwork, made of bits taken from Homer and the three great tragedians, put together without taste or skill. To Vater and Hartung, on the contrary, it seemed a very meritorious piece of work, and Gruppe reached the climax by regarding the Rhesus as an early work of Sophocles, part of a trilogy with which he won his first dramatic victory! In supporting these views their authors have heaped on the play the most extravagant praise and the most unreasonable condemnation, and have thus offered opportunities to their adversaries, without strengthening their own cause.

The problem has also been attacked from the point of view of the language and style[2] and of the metre,[3] but no more satisfactory conclusions have been reached, mainly because no one apparently has begun the investigation with an unbiased mind.

In this paper the non-aesthetic arguments, from the didascaliae and

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[1] *De Rhesi Scholiis*, p. 12. [2] Hermann, Hagenbach, Menzer, Albert.
[3] Spengler, Menzer, and others.

scholia, the language, the metre, and the syntax and style will be mainly relied on, but before taking them up, it will be well to give a brief outline of the play, especially as recent criticism has thrown some light on many of the disputed points.

The action of the drama goes on at night in the plain of Troy before Hector's tent. The Chorus, composed of Trojan guards, comes to arouse Hector. They tell him that the watchfires of the Greeks are still burning, and that the generals are hastening to Agamemnon's tent to take council. As a fair specimen of a good deal of the criticism which is used to show that the Rhesus is unworthy of Euripides, it may be said that the poet is censured for representing the whole guard as going to the general's tent, instead of sending one of their number! Another critic says: 'In Rheso Hectorem excitent vigiles nunciantes frequentissimam congressionem ducum ad tentorium Agamemnonis, quod inventum est ineptissime, nam si tanta sunt acie oculorum vel tam prope a Graecorum castris stationem habent, ut ista tam distincte cernant, vix opus est exploratorem mitti.'

Surely this is to inquire too curiously and to hold the poet too closely to details.

When the guards make their report, Hector at once concludes that the Greeks are intending flight, and proposes an immediate attack on them. The Chorus endeavors to dissuade him, as does Aeneas, who has been aroused by the confusion. Aeneas urges that it is better to allow the army needed rest and to defer the attack until dawn, but in the meantime to send a spy to learn the reason of the disturbance in the Grecian camp. Hector is finally persuaded and calls for a volunteer for this dangerous mission. Dolon offers himself, but demands a substantial reward. Hector offers him successively the privilege of becoming one of Priam's sons-in-law, a large amount of gold, and one of the famous Greek generals as his slave. Dolon refuses them all and demands as his reward the horses of Achilles, and these Hector finally promises him.

Then Dolon explains his plan for disguising himself. He will cover his head and his whole body with a wolf's skin, and running on all fours will enter the Grecian camp without exciting suspicion. When secure from observation he will walk erect. This stratagem, which the Chorus highly commends, has been ridiculed by all who have denied that Euripides wrote our play, and even by most of the

opposite faction. And yet, as v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf points out,[1] our author follows a tradition which, though different from the Homeric account, was current in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. He says: 'Atqui Dolonem re vera indutum pelle lupina τετράπουν μιμήσασθαι λύκου κέλευθον (uti similes insidiae passim de barbaris Americae incolis narrantur) vulgari per quintum quartumque saeculum ferebatur fabula, cuius in litteris quidem nulla praeter hanc tragoediam pervenit ad nos mentio, sed vascula Attica et antiquissima et recentia pictam luculentissime hanc scaenam exhibent.' Some illustrations which fully confirm this statement are given by Schreiber in the *Annali dell' Institut* for 1875.[2] He mentions thirteen vases which represent the Doloneia, although Vogel[3] seems to know of but one, and that too one which follows the Homeric tradition. There can be no question, however, that in the scene depicted by Schreiber in Tav. R. 1, exactly the disguise described by our poet is represented.

After the departure of Dolon a shepherd comes from Mt. Ida, to announce the arrival of Rhesus, the Thracian king. Hector at first refuses to listen to him, and insists on supposing that he has come at this inopportune time to bring news of his flock. When at last the shepherd is allowed to tell his story, he gives a vivid description of the mighty army and wonderful horses of Rhesus. This scene also has been severely criticised. Von Wilamowitz sees in it an indication that the Rhesus is an imitation of Sophocles's lost drama *Pastores*, the points of resemblance being that in the play of Sophocles the scene is laid in the Trojan camp, there is a double plot in the deaths of Protesilaus and Cycnus, and finally 'chorum audimus de pecoribus suis multa narrantem.'

After the shepherd has told his story, the Chorus in a beautiful passage celebrates Rhesus, the son of the river Strymon and one of the Muses. Then Rhesus appears and is met by Hector with reproaches for his long delay. Rhesus urges as his excuse a protracted war against the Scythians, saying that as soon as he had finished it he had hastened to the relief of his allies. In a boastful speech he declares that on the morrow he will finish the war which has raged

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[1] *De Rhesi Scholiis*, p. 11. [2] See especially Tav. R. 1.
[3] *Scenen aus Euripides in Vasengemalden*, p. 21.

for ten years with his own army alone. Then he will go with Hector to conquer Greece. Hector, before so boastful, becomes modest in comparison with this new *miles gloriosus*, as Valckenaer calls him, and informs Rhesus that to conquer Greece is not so easy a matter. Rhesus finally consents to let the Trojans take part in the coming battle, but insists that he be placed with his force opposite the bravest of the Greeks.

While Hector accompanies the Thracian to the resting-place assigned him for the night, the guards are relieved. The approach of dawn is described in a charming ode. Of this Patin[1] says: 'On y voit les astres qui s'effacent à l'horizon, les pléiades qui commencent à paraître, la constellation de l'aigle planant au milieu du ciel, la lune illuminant tout de sa lumière: on y entend les plaintes du rossignol aux bords du Simoïs, la flûte des pasteurs qui déjà mènent leur troupeaux dans les pâturages de l'Ida. Ces souvenirs de la nature et la vie champêtre, ainsi jetés, à la façon d'Homère, parmi les scènes de guerre, ont beaucoup de charme.'[2] As the Chorus departs it expresses anxiety about Dolon.

Meanwhile Odysseus and Diomedes have made their way into the Trojan camp. When they appear on the scene, we learn from their conversation that they have killed Dolon and have learned from him the pass-word and the position of Hector's tent. They propose to slay Hector, but find him gone. As they are on the point of departing without accomplishing anything more than Dolon's death, Athena appears, to tell them of the arrival of Rhesus, and how they may slay him and carry off his steeds. This they proceed to do, while Athena, in the guise of Aphrodite, reassures Paris, who is hastening to his brother's tent. Paris, Aeneas, and Athena are really not necessary to the action of the drama, and their introduction has been severely criticised. The multiplicity of characters, however, which Bergk[3] ascribes to the influence of Euripides and his school, give variety and liveliness to a drama somewhat lacking in action, while the intervention of Athena, as Patin[4] points out, lends a fatalistic turn to the events which follow.

[1] *Tragiques Grecs*, Vol. III. p. 160.

[2] Valckenaer, Hermann, and critics of their school saw no such beauties in this passage. It is fair to say, however, that it has been generally admired by all who have not had reasons for refusing to see any merit in the Rhesus.

[3] l.c. [4] l.c. p. 162.

Meanwhile the guards are aroused, and returning surround the two Grecian heroes, who escape by the coolness of Odysseus and his knowledge of the pass-word. Then the charioteer of Rhesus, severely wounded, enters and informs the guards in a simple and dramatic narrative that the Thracian king has been killed with many of his followers. When Hector appears, the charioteer accuses him of treachery and of the murder of Rhesus, saying that the Greeks could have had no idea of the arrival of the Thracians, and of their position, without supernatural intervention.[1] Hector listens with a patience which seems to most critics excessive, and orders that the charioteer be taken to his house and his wounds attended to.

Then the Muse, the mother of Rhesus, appears with her son's body in her arms,[2] bewailing his death in a speech which many critics believe adds to the drama the pathos which it otherwise lacks, though others find it only laughable.

After this Hector deplores the death of his ally in simple and noble language, the dawn appears, and an attack on the Greeks is ordered.

One of the things which has been especially censured in the play is the boastfulness of Hector and Rhesus. Others have attempted to justify it, by saying that the author wished to represent the barbarians as despisers of the gods, and as finally visited by their vengeance. This view is examined at length and disposed of by Nöldecke.[3] Von Wilamowitz sees in this proof of imitation of Sophocles; he says:[4] 'Nihil est quod in Rheso legendo plus taedii moveat quam tumidissima Hectoris et Rhesi gloriatio: at Sophocles consimili artificio barbaros mores pinxerat, nec dubitamus magno poetae bene cedere potuisse, quod in plumbeo imitatore bilem movet.'

Before passing to the non-aesthetic arguments, it may be well to give one or two opinions to offset the flood of condemnation which has been poured on our unlucky author, opinions which are not given to support a theory. Patin[5] finds the Rhesus beautiful in details, carefully worked out, but lacking in dramatic power, especially in

[1] Patin considers this an ingenious justification of the appearance of Athena on the scene.

[2] Recalling Aurora and Memnon in the *Psychostasia* of Aeschylus.

[3] *De Rhesi fabulae aetate et forma*, pp. 5 fol.

[4] *De Rhesi Scholiis*, p. 12.

[5] l.c. Vol. III. pp. 178 fol.

pathos.[1] Mahaffy[2] compares it to Schiller's *Wallenstein* as a picture of camp life. Klein[3] considers that in many of its details it is not unworthy of Sophocles; that the scene in which the guards gather round Hector's tent, to intercept the fleeing Odysseus, is *sui generis*, reminding one of a camp scene of Salvator Rosa.

Passing now to more tangible evidence, let us first consider what light is thrown on the question by the arguments and the scholia. In the first argument we are informed that the didascaliae recorded a Rhesus of Euripides. The origin and trustworthiness of the didascaliae are treated by Boeckh.[4] Their testimony regarding the Rhesus has never been questioned, and it is generally admitted that Euripides wrote a Rhesus. If our play was not the work of Euripides, it was substituted for his Rhesus, and to that fact undoubtedly owes its preservation. That the substitution was accidental seems clear, for a play deliberately designed to be fraudulently assigned to Euripides would surely not show so many departures from his usual manner. The substitution would seem to have been made before the play came to Alexandria. Certainly the work of one of the Alexandrine Pleiad could not have deceived the grammarians of the time.

The authorship of the first argument is disputed. Kirchoff[5] maintains that it is all derived from a Δικαιάρχου ὑπόθεσις, such as is prefixed to the *Medea* and the *Alcestis*, but Hagenbach's[6] view seems more probable. He thinks that the fact that the writer of the arguments cites Dicaearchus especially as authority for the statement that there were two prologues is a proof that the other parts of the argument were not drawn from him. He says: 'Nihil aliud sumere possumus nisi compilatorem appellasse auctores, ubi maximi ponderis erant, non nominasse ubi vel inferioris erant notae, vel omnino eorum nomina evanuerunt.'

The view that the οἱ ἔνιοι of the argument were less known grammarians, though of fine critical sense, is supported by v. Wilamowitz.[7] From an examination of the scholia he reaches the following conclusion: 'Tenemus igitur extitisse editionem Rhesi κεχιασμένην, extitisse σύγγραμμα explicandis signis scriptum ad demonstrandum spuriam

[1] It may be compared in the latter regard with the *Persians* of Aeschylus.
[2] *Hist. Greek Lit.*, Vol. I. p. 376.
[3] *Geschichte d. Dramas*, Vol. I. p. 302.
[4] C. I. G. Vol. I. p. 350.
[5] *Philologus*, VII. p. 536.
[6] *De Rheso Tragoedia*, p. 9.
[7] *De Rhesi Scholiis*, p. 11.

eius originem. Nihil est cur huius editionis auctorem post Chr. nat. fuisse credamus, cum ex ipsius Aristarchi discipulis complures commemoret, minorem natu neminem. Deinde alius extitit grammaticus qui in priore commentario novum extruxit refutatis quantum potuit dubitationibus, servato Euripidis nomine . . . talem editionem nullam fuisse contendimus nisi unius Rhesi; scilicet neque est Euripidis haec tragoedia neque antiquitus eadem est credulitas.'

He sees in the argument traces of these same critics, 'quorum alter dubitationem movet, a qua alieni fuerunt Aristophanes, Crates (de Parmenisco dubitari potest), alter satis eam credit refelli e studio astrorum, quod quantas turbas excitasset e scholiis noverat et ex didascaliarum testimonio.' The view of Hagenbach that these ἔνιοι must have lived 'aliquot saecula post Alexandrinorum aevum' seems to lack evidence.

The question of the prologue is an important one, for all the plays of Euripides, except the doubtful *Iphigenia at Aulis*, have prologues. Unfortunately the evidence is conflicting. As it is expressly stated in the argument of Aristophanes that the guards speak the prologue, and as the Rhesus is the shortest of all Greek tragedies, it has been maintained that the play has come down to us in a fragmentary state, and that the prologue has been lost. This view has been examined by Menzer,[1] who shows very ingeniously that none of the characters of the Rhesus could have spoken such a prologue. His conclusion is: 'Nullo modo verisimile est intercidisse Rhesi prologum, Euripidis more compositum.' Perhaps, as Hagenbach suggests, the line quoted from Dicaearchus may have been preserved from the lost play of Euripides. The origin of the second prologue seems to be correctly stated in the argument. If this view be accepted, the Rhesus began with an anapaestic system like the *Persians* and the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus. While this must be admitted to be doubtful, the deductions of v. Wilamowitz from the scholia are certainly deserving of consideration. In the light of his arguments the *περὶ τὰ μετάρσια πολυπραγμοσύνη* would seem to be a desperate attempt to defend the view that our play is the Rhesus of Euripides, like that of Crates:[2] *Κράτης ἀγνοεῖν φησι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὴν περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρίαν, διὰ τὸ νέον ἔτι εἶναι ὅτε τὸν Ῥῆσον ἐδίδασκε.*

[1] *De R. T.* pp. 45 fol.

[2] Scholium on v. 528.

This passage is the only suggestion of ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια πολυπραγμοσύνη.

No light seems to be thrown on the authorship of the Rhesus by the fragments of the *Nyctegersia* of Accius, or by the mediaeval *Christus Patiens*, whose author takes fifty lines from the Rhesus.

In taking the language of the Rhesus as the basis of argument, critics have made the same error as in the aesthetic criticism of the play. The indices of Hermann, Hagenbach, and Albert are evidently made to support a preconceived theory. Those which follow have been made on a different plan. An attempt has been made to classify the words and expressions used in the Rhesus without forming any previous opinion, and to get from the indices thus made whatever light is possible. No great reliance must be placed on this argument alone, for in the first place we do not possess all the works of the three great tragedians; and secondly, the occurrence even of an unusual word only in the Rhesus and in Aeschylus, for instance, does not necessarily prove that the writer of the Rhesus borrowed that word from Aeschylus. The uncertainty of this kind of criticism is pointed out by Nauck:[1] 'Wäre die Euripideische Electra uns nicht erhalten, so würde die Form δυσθνήσκων als ein höchst gewichtiges Argument für die Unechtheit des Rhesus geltend gemacht werden, und jeder Versuch dieselbe zu beseitigen als misslich erscheinen.'

It may be said by way of preface that Hagenbach's indices are not wholly correct; for in the list of words which seem to him to show imitation of Sophocles, we find not a few which are found also in Aeschylus, and the same is true of his Euripidean list. Moreover, he gives altogether too much weight to this kind of testimony. His indices are criticised by Albert[2] and Eysert,[3] and I have examined some of them below.[4]

The lists[5] of ἅπαξ εἰρημένα and of ἅπαξ τραγῳδούμενα, as Hermann calls those words which are not found in the extant works or fragments of the three great tragedians, are mainly from Hermann and Hagenbach. Just as Hagenbach added to Hermann's list, and Menzer to Hagenbach's, I have found it necessary to add several ἅπαξ

[1] *Eur. Studien*, p. 179. [2] *De R. T.* pp. 39, 40.
[3] *Der Rhesus im Lichte des Eur. Sprachgebrauches.*
[4] pp. 83, 84, 89. [5] I., II.

εἰρημένα[1] and a number of ἅπαξ τραγῳδούμενα. A separate list of characteristic expressions[2] has been made. The other indices are new.[3]

I. ἅπαξ εἰρημένα.

1. ἄησις. 417.[4] Albert compares ἄημα, Aesch. Eum. 906; Soph. Aj. 674.
2. ἀμβλώψ. 737. Cf. ἀμβλωπός, Aesch. Eum. 956.
3. ἀνθρωποδαίμων. 971. In this sense.
4. δίβαμος. 215.
5. ἐξαυγής. 304. Albert compares χρυσαυγής, Soph. Oed. Col. 685.
6. θοινατήριον. 515. Cf. θοινατήρ, Aesch. Ag. 1503.
7. κακόγαμβρος. 260.
8. καλλιγέφυρος. 349. Albert compares καλλίπρῳρος, Aesch. Ag. 245.
9. καρανιστής. 817. Cf. καρανιστήρ, Aesch. Eum. 186.
10. καρποποιός. 964.
11. κερόδετος. 33. Albert compares χρυσόδετος, Soph. El. 837, and χαλκόδετος, Aesch. Sept. 146.
12. μηνάς. 534.
13. νυκτίβρομος. 552.
14. οἰνοπλάνητος. 363.
15. ὀφειλέτις. 965. Cf. ὀφειλέτης, Soph. Aj. 590.
16. παναμερεύω. 361.
17. πουλυπινής. 716.
18. προπότης. 361.
19. προσαύλειος. 273.
20. προταινί. 523.
21. προυξερευνητής. 296. Cf. προυξερευνάω, Eur. Phoe. 92.
22. ῥακόδυτος. 712. ῥακοδύτης occurs in Chrysostom.
23. ταχυβάτας. 134. A. compares ἀβροβάτης, Aesch. Pers. 1073.
24. τετράμοιρος. 4.
25. τευχοφόρος. 3.
26. φυλλόστρωτος. 8. Cf. φυλλοστρώς, [Theocr.] Epigr. III.
27. χρυσόβωλος. 921. A. compares καλλίβωλος, Eur. Or. 1382.
28. χρυσοτευχής. 340. A. compares χρυσοφεγγής, Aesch. Ag. 300.
29. ψαφαρόχροος. 716.

[1] Eysert adds eight ἅπαξ εἰρημένα to Hagenbach's list. It is fair to say that all these appeared in my original list of 1885. I am somewhat indebted to Eysert's valuable monograph in the revision of lists I. and II., but as I was unable to consult it until my paper was in type, I have been unable to give it the consideration it deserves. It is a very important contribution to the subject.

[2] III. [3] IV.–VIII.

[4] The following editions have been used: Wecklein's *Aeschylus*, Berlin, 1885; Campbell's *Sophocles*, Oxford, 1871; Nauck's *Euripides*, ed. 3, Leipzig, 1870.

II. ἅπαξ τραγῳδούμενα.[1]

1. ἀβούλως. 761. The adj. occurs frequently in Sophocles and Euripides.
2. ἀηδονίς. 550.
3. αἶθος. 990.
4. ἀκινδύνως. 588. The adj. occurs Eur. Med. 248.
5. ἀκμάζων. Used of a person. 795. ἀκμάζω occurs in Aesch. Sept. 95, and Choe. 722.
6. ἀναπείρω. 514.
7. ἄπληκτος. 814.
8. ἀποινῶμαι. 177, 466.
9. ἀριστοτόκος. 909.
10. ἀσταστός. 348.
11. ἀυτόρριζος. 288.
12. ἀφυπνίζω. 25.
13. γαπονέω. 75. γαπόνος, Eur. Supp. 420.
14. γερουσία. 401, 936.
15. γεωργέω. 176.
16. δέχθαι. 525.
17. δίβολος. 374.
18. διόπτας. 234. In this sense.
19. δόξα. 780. With the meaning 'vision.'
20. δόρη (= δόρατα) 274.
21. δύομαι. 529.
22. ἐγερτί. 524. Occurs with a different meaning Soph. Antig. 413.
23. ἑδραῖος. 783. In the sense of 'furnishing a seat.'
24. εἰσδρομή. 604.
25. ἐκκέαντες. 97. κέαντες, Aesch. Ag. 840.
26. ἐκτυπέω. 308.
27. ἐκτροπή. 881. In this sense.
28. ἐλευθέριος. 358.
29. ἐντάσσω. 492.[2]
30. ἐξαπωθέω. 811.
31. ἐξώστης. 322.
32. ἐπιδέξιος. 364.
33. ἐπιθρώσκω. 100.

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[1] ἄγρυπνος, which Eysert gives as ἅπαξ τραγῳδούμενον, is found in Aesch. Pro. 374. Eysert rejects ἀβούλως because Euripides uses the adjective, but retains ἀκινδύνως where the conditions are the same. He also diminishes the list by rejecting all '*Hom. Reminiscensen*,' such as μέρμερος, δέχθαι, etc.

[2] So the MSS. and Liddell and Scott. Nauck adopts Musgrave's conjecture, ἀντᾶραι.

34. ἐπίμομφος. 327. Occurs in Aesch. Choe. 817, and elsewhere in a different sense.
35. ἐπιχράομαι. 942.
36. εὐδοξέω. 496.
37. εὐσπλαγχνία. 192. A. compares θρασυσπλάχνως, Aesch. Pro. 756.
38. εὐσταθέω. 317.
39. καρατόμος. 606.[1]
40. κατακούω. 553.
41. κατάντης. 318.
42. κειμήλιον. 654. Used of a person.[2]
43. κλωπικός. 205, 512.
44. κρυσταλλόπηκτος. 441. κρυσταλλοπήξ, Aesch. Pers. 504.
45. κυβεύω. 446.
46. λεωφόρος. 881.
47. μελοποιός. 550.
48. μελῳδία. 923.
49. μεμβλωκώς. 629.
50. μέρμερος. 509.
51. μῖμος. 256. Used by Aesch. in a different sense.
52. μυχθισμός. 789.
53. ναυκλήριον. 233.
54. ναύσταθμον. 136, 244, 448, 582, 591, 602, 673.
55. νυκτηγορία.[3] 19. Cf. νυκτηγορεῖν, Rh. 89, and νυκτηγορεῖσθαι, Aesch. Sept. 29.
56. παράκαιρος. 830.
57. πελταστής. 311.
58. προκάθημαι. 6.
59. πλάστιγξ. 303. In the sense of 'yoke.' Used in a different sense by Aesch. Choe. 289.
60. πολίαρχος. 382.
61. πρηνής. 797.
62. πρόσδετος. 307.
63. πρόσθιος. 210.
64. πτωχικός. 503.
65. πυρσά (heterogeneous plu.). 97.
66. ῥύμη. 64.

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[1] See Eysert, l.c. p. 18.

[2] So Liddell and Scott (*Greek-English Lexicon* s.v.) and others. This interpretation does not seem certain.

[3] Schirlitz (*De Euripide novi sermonis conditore*, Halis, Sax. 1864) considers λαῖς ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in this sense.

67. σῆμα. 688. In the sense of 'watchword.'
68. σήμερον. 683.
69. σπανία. 245.[1]
70. σποράς. 701.
71. συναθροίζω. 613.
72. συνεμπίμπρημι. 489.
73. τολυπεύω. 744. Cf. ἐκτολυπεύω, Aesch. Ag. 1017.
74. τρομερός. 36. In this sense.
75. ὑδροειδής. 353.
76. ὑφίζω. 730.
77. φαναῖος. 355.
78. φιλόπτολις. 158. φιλόπολις, Aesch. Sept. 160.
79. χωστός. 414. Cf. πολύχωστος, Aesch. Choe. 350.

While some of the words in these two lists, especially in the latter, ought not to be considered of great weight as evidence, the number of rare words which occur in the Rhesus has always been deemed significant, and a weighty argument against the view that the play was written by Euripides. Those who support that view have attempted to diminish the number or to show strong resemblances in form and composition to words which are found in the other tragic writers. Albert[2] showed that very similar words occur in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, but without greatly strengthening his case. Vater made[3] an examination of the *Bacchae* of Euripides, with the view of showing that it did not differ from the Rhesus in that regard, but could find in a play of 1370 lines (as against 996 in the Rhesus) only *eight* ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, some of which were at least doubtful. The first really scientific examination of the question has been made recently[4] by Eysert, whose results are most interesting, and in view of the weight which has always been laid on the number of rare words in the Rhesus, almost startling. As the result of an extensive lexicographical examination of all the tragedies of Euripides, he finds that while the Rhesus, according to his table, has 28[5] ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, it contains only *one-eighteenth* of the 482 ἅπαξ εἰρημένα to be found in all the plays of Euripides. The Rhesus he finds to be exceeded in

[1] On this word see Schirlitz, l.c. p. 28.
[2] *De R. T.*, pp. 33–39.
[3] *Vindiciae.*
[4] 1891, l.c.
[5] It will be noted that my list contains 29, and differs in some other particulars from his.

that respect by the *Phoenissae* (40), the *Ion* (36), the *Iph. Tau.* (35), the *Iph. Aul.* (32), and the *Bacchae* (31).[1] In the percentage of ἅπαξ εἰρημένα to the number of verses in the plays the Rhesus stands higher, though it is surpassed by the *Cyclops* and approached by some of the tragedies. His table is as follows: Cyclops, 3.10 %; Rhesus, 2.81; Iph. T., 2.34; Phoen., 2.27; Bacch., 2.23; Ion, 2.22; Herc. F., 1.97; Iph. A., 1.96; Hiket., 1.86; Elect., 1.84; Hel., 1.59; Troad., 1.35; Hipp., 1.29; Orest., 1.28; Hec., 1.23; Andr., 0.79; Heraclid., 0.76; Med., 0.63; Alc., 0.60.

In view of these results the argument from the number of rare words in the Rhesus is certainly deprived of much of its weight. On the other hand an examination of the above table of percentages makes it difficult to suppose that the Rhesus was the earliest work of Euripides, and most of the upholders of the Euripidean authorship of the play have admitted their position to be untenable without that hypothesis. Eysert does not take sides on the question of the authorship of the play, although he seems to lean toward the view that it was written by Euripides. His aim is to show that in the number of its rare words the Rhesus does not differ greatly from the other plays, and in this he has certainly succeeded. Even the number of ἅπαξ τραγῳδούμενα in the Rhesus cannot be said to be very significant against the 103 in the *Bacchae*.

Eysert's list of '*Voces Euripideae* κατ' ἐξοχήν' is also interesting, and justifies his claim that the author of the Rhesus was no servile imitator. Whether the presence of eight such words in the Rhesus, out of a list of seventy-four, indicates, as he believes, the Euripidean character of the play may well be doubted. It would seem to indicate that the author of the Rhesus was familiar with the writings of Euripides, but it is not of sufficient weight to offset the arguments against the Euripidean authorship of the play.[2]

The next list contains some expressions which seem to Hagenbach and Menzer to be peculiar to the Rhesus. Those in division *a*, it seems to me, can be paralleled in the other tragic writers, and I have subjoined some expressions which appear similar. Those in division

[1] It will be remembered that Vater found only 8 ἅπ. εἰρ. in the *Bacchae;* Eysert finds 31, and 103 ἅπαξ τραγῳδούμενα!

[2] See especially Wecklein's review of Eysert's monograph quoted below, p. 82.

b I have been unable to parallel. To the latter list I have added a few cases. Some of the expressions given by Hagenbach have been transferred to other lists.

III. Expressions said to be peculiar to the Rhesus.[1]

a.

54. *αἵρεσθαι φυγήν.* Cf. *αἵρονται φυγήν*, Aesch. Pers. 484.
173. *στρατηλάτης νεῶν.* Cf. *στρατηλάτης νεῶν*, Aesch. Eum. 640.
318. *ἕρπει κατάντης ξυμφορὰ πρὸς τἀγαθά.* Cf. *πρὸς τὸν ἔχονθ' ὁ φθόνος ἕρπει.* Soph. Aj. 157.
388. *θεὸς καταπνεῖ σε.* Cf. *θεόθεν καταπνείει πειθὼ μολπᾶν*, Aesch. Ag. 107.
512. *ἴζειν κλωπικὰς ἕδρας.* Cf. *τίνας ποθ' ἕδρας τάσδε μοι θοάζετε;* Soph. O. T. 2.
566. *ψόφος στάζει δι' ὤτων.*[2] Cf. *στάζει δ' ἔν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας πόνος*, Aesch. Ag. 189.
875. *εἰς σὲ τείνεται.* Cf. *εἰς τήνδε τείνει φόνον*, Eur. Hec. 263.

b.

30. *σφαγίων ἔφοροι.*
31. *γυμνήτων μόναρχοι.*
111. *νυκτὸς ἐν καταστάσει.*
184. *ἐρῶντί γ' ἀντερᾷς ἵππων ἐμοί.*
194. *ἀριστεύω* with the genitive.
210. *βάσιν χερσὶ προσθίαν καθαρμόσας.*
217. *Ἑρμῆς φηλητῶν ἄναξ.*
254. *πεδοστιβὴς σφαγεύς.*
395. *διπλοῦς ἀνήρ.*
487. *πέλτην ἐρεῖσαι.*
538. *τίς ἐκηρύχθη* with the accusative.
560. *εἰσπαίω λόχον.*
568. *κλάζει σιδήρου.*
612. *πόθεν τέτακται βαρβάρου στρατεύματος;*
787. *ἀμύνων θῆρας ἐξεγείρομαι πώλοισιν.*
929. *πηγαῖαι κόραι.*
932. *ἁλκαὶ φιλάρματοι.*

While some of the expressions in *b* must not be pressed, it seems fair to conclude from the lists already presented that the author of

[1] By 'peculiar to the Rhesus' is meant an expression which is a *ἅπαξ τραγῳδούμενον* (see p. 72).

[2] Hagenbach's comment on this expression is 'inaudite dictum.'

the Rhesus aimed at originality in his diction, and that he was not a servile imitator of the three great tragedians, or of any one of them. So far as he was influenced by others, his model appears to have been Aeschylus.

IV. WORDS FOUND ONLY IN THE RHESUS AND IN AESCHYLUS.[1]

1. ἀγός. 29.
2. ἄγρυπνος. 3, 825.
3. ἀδείμαντος. 697.
4. ἀντεράω. 184.
5. δυσάλιος. 247.
6. δυσοίζω. 724, 805.
7. ἔτειος. 435.
8. ἰά. 553.
9. ἱππηλάτης. 117.
10. καιρίως. 339.
11. κότος. 828.
12. κώδων. 308. Used in a different sense and in the fem. in Soph. Aj. 17.
13. μάραγνα. 817.
14. μόναρχος. 31.
15. νυκτηγορέω. 89.
16. ὄργανον, of a musical instrument. 922.
17. πολίοχος. 821.
18. πρεπόντως. 202.
19. προπίνω. 405.
20. ῥέγκω.[2] 785.
21. σύρδην. 58.

V. WORDS FOUND ONLY IN AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, AND THE RHESUS.[3]

1. αἴθων. 122. As adj.
2. ἄμαχος. 456.
3. αὐλών. 112.
4. ἔνθηρος. 289.
5. ἔφοροι. 30.
6. θράσσω. 863.
7. πανδίκως. 720.
8. πρόσημαι. 390.
9. ξυναινέω. 172.
10. φηλήτης. 217.
11. φρυκτωρία. 55, 128.
12. φυτάλμιος. 920.
13. χαμεύνη. 8, 852.
14. χνόη. 118.

VI. WORDS FOUND ONLY IN AESCHYLUS, EURIPIDES, AND THE RHESUS.[3]

1. ἀγκάλη. 948.
2. ἄδην. 480.
3. ἀμνημονέω. 647.
4. ἀναίμακτος. 222.
5. ἀναίτιος. 828.
6. ἀνάκτωρ. 516.
7. ἀνᾴσσω. 792.
8. ἀπαίρω. 143.
9. ἀπουσία. 467.
10. ἀρείφατος. 124.
11. ἀρκούντως. 499.
12. αὐθέντης. 873.

[1] It has been thought best to make lists IV.–VIII. complete, rather than to select those words which seem especially significant. The meaning of course is that the words are found in no *tragedy* except the Rhesus, and the works and fragments of Aeschylus.

[2] Menzer says (p. 33) that *ῥέγκω* used of animals is a ἅπ. τρ.

[3] See note to list IV.

13. αὐτανέψιος. 944.
14. ἀϋτέω. 668.
15. αὐχέω. 452.
16. βάζω. 719.
17. βιαίως. 901.
18. βόλος. 730.
19. γοργωπός. 7. γοργῶπις, Soph. Aj. 450.
20. δίνη. 928.
21. δίοπος. 741.
22. δόχμος. 372.
23. δυσεύρετος. 212.
24. δυστυχῶς. 961.
25. ἐκπέρθω. 472.
26. ἐπίφθονος. 334.
27. ἐρημόω. 278.
28. εὐκλεῶς. 758.
29. εὔψυχος. 510.
30. ζυγηφόρος. 303.
31. θείνω. 676, 687, 784.
32. θηκτός. 669.
33. θοίνη. 57.
34. θοῦρος. 492.
35. θυμέλη. 235.
36. ἰάλεμος. 895.
37. καθεύδω. 643.
38. κατακτάς. 605.
39. καταπνέω. 388.
40. κατόπτης. 134, 150, 155, 558, 632.
41. κελαδέω. 385.
42. κύκνος. 618.
43. λακτίζω. 411.
44. λέπας. 287, 921.
45. λυπρός, 759, 803.
46. μελάγχιμος. 962.
47. μονούμενος. 871.
48. μυριάς. 913.
49. παιδολέτωρ. 549.
50. πάνοπλος. 22.
51. πασσαλεύω. 180.
52. πεδοστιβής. 254, 763.
53. πελάθω. 557.[1]
54. πέλανος. 430.
55. πηγαῖος. 929.
56. πλέκω. 834.
57. πρευμενής. 646.
58. προσεικάζω. 696.
59. πυργόω. 122.
60. στρατηλατέω. 276.
61. συναίρομαι. 495.
62. συνάπτω. 428.
63. τορῶς. 656.
64. τρανῶς. 40.
65. τραῦμα. 751.
66. ψάλιον. 27.
67. ψαλμός. 363.

VII. Words found only in Sophocles and in the Rhesus.[2]

1. ἀγύρτης. 503, 715.
2. ἀγχιτέρμων. 426.
3. δεννάζω. 925, 951.
4. διφρηλατέω. 781. διφρηλάτης, Aesch. Eum. 156.
5. εἰσπαίω. 560.
6. ἐπαιτέω. 715.
7. εὔβουλος. 105. εὐβούλως, Aesch. Choe. 692.
8. ἐωθινός. 771.
9. κακανδρία. 814.
10. καταρκέω. 447.
11. καταυλίζεσθαι. 518.
12. κατευνάζω. 611, 614. In Eur. in a different sense.
13. κρότημα. 499.
14. κωδωνόκροτος. 384.
15. ὀλοφύρομαι. 896.
16. πεδιάς. 283.
17. ῥινός. 784.
18. ὑπασπίδιος. 740.

[1] So the MSS.; Nauck reads πλάθω.

[2] See note to list IV.

VIII. Words found only in Euripides and the Rhesus.[1]

1. ἄγαμαι. 244.
2. αἰνιγμός. 754. αἴνιγμα in Aesch. and Soph.
3. ἀκλεῶς. 752, 761.
4. ἄμυστις. 419, 438.
5. αὐθιγενής. 895. αὐτογενής, Aesch. Supp. 8.
6. βαλιός. 356.
7. βοηδρομέω. 333, 412.
8. γυμνής. 313.
9. γύψ. 515. γυπιάς, Aesch. Supp. 804.
10. δέμω. 232.
11. διαπρεπής. 617.
12. διΐπετής. 43.
13. διφρεύω. 356.
14. δυσθνήσκω. 791.
15. ἐξιάομαι. 872.
16. ἐπιζαρέω. 441.
17. ἐπικουρέω. 937, 956.
18. ἑπτάπορος. 529. Compounds of this kind are common in Aesch. *e.g.* ἑπτάπυλος, Sept. 150.
19. εὔσελμος. 97.
20. εὐδοξία. 760. Cf. εὔδοξος, Aesch. Choe. 302.
21. εὔυδρος. 927.
22. ζάχρυσος. 370, 439. Such compounds are common in Aesch. *e.g.* ζάπυρος, Pro. 1118.
23. καθαρμόζω. 767.
24. καθαρῶς. 35.
25. καραδοκέω. 144.
26. κερατομέω. 586.
27. κατάσκοπος. 125, 505, 592.
28. κλώψ. 777.
29. κοινωνία. 904. κοινωνός, Aesch. Ag. 1021, and elsewhere.
30. κορύσσω. 933.
31. κυνηγέτης. 325.
32. λάζυμαι. 877.
33. μελῳδός. 351, 393.
34. ναυσιπόρος. 48.
35. νυχεύω. 520.
36. ξιφήρης. 713.
37. ὀργάς. 282.
38. ὅρισμα. 437.
39. παιδοποιός. 980.
40. πάμπαν. 855.
41. πεδαίρω. 372.
42. πέλτη (= πελτασται). 410.
43. πλημμελής. 858.
44. πολύφονος. 62, 465. Cf. πολύφθορος, Aesch. Pro. 660.
45. πολύχορδος. 548.
46. πόρπαμα. 442.
47. πρέσβευμα. 936.
48. ῥαίνω. 73.
49. σαθρός (λόγος). 639.
50. σκόλοπες. 116.
51. σκύλευμα. 593.
52. στίλβω. 618.
53. συμπυρόω. 960.
54. συγκατασκάπτω. 391.
55. σύνθημα. 572, 684.
56. τετράπους. 255. Cf. τετρασκελής, Aesch. Pro. 411.
57. τοξήρης. 226.
58. τρίβων. 675.
59. ὑπάργυρος. 970.
60. ὑπασπιστής. Cf. ὑπασπιστήρ, Aesch. Supp. 188.
61. φαναί. 943.
62. φαρέτρα. 979.
63. φρουρός. 506.
64. φύσημα. 440.
65. χάσμα (θηρός), 209.
66. χόρτος. 771.
67. χρυσοκόλλητος. 305. Cf. χρυσόκολλος, Soph. Fr. 68.

[1] See note to list IV.

It may not be amiss to collect the above results in tabular form.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	Total.
Words found in no tragedy except the Rhesus	29	79							108
Words found in Aeschylus				21	14	67			102
Words found in Sophocles					14		18		32
Words found in Euripides						67		67	134
Words not found in Aeschylus	29	79					18	67	193
Words not found in Sophocles	29	79		21		67		67	263
Words not found in Euripides	29	79		21	14		18		161
Words found only in Aeschylus				21					21
Words found only in Sophocles							18		18
Words found only in Euripides								67	67

In considering this table it should be borne in mind that we possess more plays of Euripides than of Aeschylus and Sophocles together. Remembering this, we are justified in saying that the language of the Rhesus is Aeschylean rather than Euripidean, while the resemblance to the language of Sophocles is slight. There is certainly no servile imitation of any one of the three.

But as Wecklein says,[1] 'Hier muss weniger gezählt als gewogen werden.' The following words, forms, and expressions seem to him to be strong evidence that our Rhesus is not the work of Euripides: —

ἀνθρωποδαίμων. 971.
τείνεσθαι εἴς τι. 875.
προταινί. 523.
δόρη. 274.
δέχθαι. 525.
μέμβλωκα. 629.
ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν. 150, 155, 221, 589.
ἥσω ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων πόδα. 203.
στείχειν. 86, 138, 201, 291, 296, 299, 582, 594, 628, 992, 993.
πολλοὶ μὲν ἱππῆς, πολλὰ πελταστῶν τέλη, πολλοὶ δ' ἀτράκτων τοξόται, πολὺς δ' ὄχλος γυμνὴς. 311 fol.

[1] *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 19 Dec. 1891, in a review of Eysert's monograph.

Of these the use of the word πελτασταί is, perhaps, the most significant, carrying us down as it apparently does to the reorganization of the Athenian army by Iphicrates in 391 B.C. The word, which first occurs in Thucydides II. 29, does not seem to have been formed before the time of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians had Thracian allies. Its use in the Rhesus seems to show that the play was not written before the time of the Peloponnesian war, but not necessarily, as Menzer claims,[1] 'multo post.' Hence it would seem that the Rhesus was not written by Euripides in his youth, and therefore, that it was not written by Euripides at all.

Before leaving the consideration of the language of the Rhesus it will be well to scrutinize carefully the lists of expressions which seemed to Hagenbach to show imitation of Sophocles and of Euripides, and to see whether they will bear investigation. Finally, as the result of the examination so far seems to suggest imitation of Aeschylus, a list of expressions which seem to have been derived from Aeschylus will be given.

IX. Expressions which seem to Hagenbach to suggest Imitation of Sophocles.[2]

55. σαίνει μ' ἔννυχος φρυκτωρία. Cf. παιδός με σαίνει φθόγγος, Soph. Ant. 1214, but also σαίνομαι δ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδος, Aesch. Choe. 193. Note the third example in list X.

82. ἐν τροπῇ δορός. Cf. ἐν τροπῇ δορός, Soph. Aj. 1275, but also ἐν μάχης τροπῇ, Aesch. Ag. 1236.

145. προσμίξαι with the dative. Same construction Soph. Ph. 106, but also Eur. Fr. 903.

158. ἐπώνυμος[3] μὲν κάρτα. Cf. ὀρθῶς δ' Ὀδυσσεύς εἰμ' ἐπώνυμος κακοῖς, Soph. Fr. 877, but also κάρτα δ' ὢν ἐπώνυμος, Aesch. Eum. 90, and ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ κάρτα Πολυνείκει λέγω, Sept. 645.

183. ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κύβοισι δαίμονος. Cf. ἀεὶ γὰρ εὖ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι, Soph. Fr. 809, but also ἔργον ἐν κύβοις Ἄρης κρινεῖ, Aesch. Sept. 401,[4] and Rh. 446, ῥίπτεις κυβεύων τὸν πρὸς Ἀργείους Ἄρην.

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[1] *De R. T.*, p. 53.

[2] In all cases the parallel first given is Hagenbach's, though in some cases I have quoted more at length than he. Those which follow are my own, though it is more than likely that some, if not all, of the cases have been noticed by others. When no parallel but Hagenbach's is given, I have been unable to find a similar expression.

[3] Hagenbach considers ἐπώνυμος a Sophoclean word!

[4] This may well have been a proverbial expression.

329. ἀρκοῦμεν οἱ σώζοντες Ἴλιον πάλαι. Cf. ἀρκέσω θνήσκουσ' ἐγώ, Soph. Ant. 547, but also ἀρκοῦμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ προθνήσκοντες, Eur. Alc. 383.[1]

389. παλαιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. Cf. παλαιᾷ ἀμέρᾳ, Soph. Aj. 624.[2]

476. ἦ κάρτα. Cf. ἦ κάρτα, Soph. El. 312. A frequent expression in Aeschylus. See Ag. 597, 1251; Choe. 928; and elsewhere.

690. βοὴν ἐγερτέον. Cf. θρῆνον ἐγείρετε, Soph. O. C. 1778. For a metaphorical use of ἐγείρω, cf. ἤγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός, Aesch. Ag. 311.

732. συμφορὰ βαρεῖα. Cf. βαρεῖαν ξυμφοράν, Soph. Tr. 746, but also βαρεῖά γ' ἅδε συμφορά, Aesch. Pers. 1045.

819. τὸν Ἕκτορα τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι νομίζετε. Cf. ὑμὰς τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας, Soph. Aj. 1275.

883. Τροίαν ἀνάγει πάλιν εἰς πένθος δαίμων. Cf. ὡς ἡμέρα κλίνει τε κἀνάγει πάλιν ἅπαντα τἀνθρώπεια, Soph. Aj. 131.

892. παῖδα τόνδ' ὁρῶσ' οἰκτρῶς θανόνθ' ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν. Cf. Soph. El. 102, σοῦ, πάτερ, οὕτως αἰκῶς οἰκτρῶς τε θανόντος.

965–6. ὀφειλέτις δέ μοι τοὺς Ὀρφέως τιμῶσα φαίνεσθαι φίλους. Cf. οὐ κάτοισθ' ἐγὼ θεοῖς ὡς οὐδὲν ἀρκεῖν εἶμ' ὀφειλέτης ἔτι; Soph. Aj. 589.

In those cases in which an expression is paralleled in both Aeschylus and Sophocles, there is certainly no reason for considering that it shows imitation of Sophocles. It is certainly fairer either to give the earlier poet the credit, or to consider the expression a literary commonplace, which any writer might use without making himself liable to the charge of imitation. The remaining cases, even if we accept such far-fetched comparisons as the one on v. 883, are surely not sufficient to show systematic imitation of Sophocles, much less to justify Hagenbach's charge 'nostrum pariter ex omnibus fabulis hausisse quae opusculo suo intexeret.' The conclusion may fairly be drawn from this list and from the word lists, that the Rhesus shows little resemblance in language and style to the extant works of Sophocles.

[1] This expression from the *Alcestis*, with Rh. 329 as parallel, is quoted by Hagenbach among the expressions which seem to him to show imitation of *Euripides*.

[2] In this case the parallel is only apparent, for though the words are identical, they are used in very different senses.

X. LIST OF EXPRESSIONS WHICH SEEM TO HAGENBACH TO SUGGEST IMITATION OF EURIPIDES.[1]

6. *ὄρθου κεφαλήν.* Cf. *ὄρθωσον κάρα,* Eur. Herac. 635, *ὀρθοῦτε κάρα,* Eur. Hipp. 198, *ὄρθου πρόσωπον,* Eur. Alc. 388.

7. *λῦσον βλεφάρων γοργωπὸν ἕδραν.* Cf. *στυγνὴν ὀφρὺν λύσασα,* Eur. Hipp. 290.

55. *σαίνει μ' ἔννυχος φρυκτωρία.*[2] Cf. *οὐ γάρ με σαίνει θέσφατα,* Eur. Ion, 685.

59. *φαεννοὶ ἡλίου λαμπτῆρες.* Cf. *φαενναῖς ἡλίου περιπτυχαῖς,* Eur. Ion. 1517.

80. *πάντ' ἂν φοβηθεὶς ἴσθι, δειμαίνων τόδε.* Cf. Eur. Hipp. 519, *πάντ' ἂν φοβηθεῖσ' ἴσθι· δειμαίνεις δὲ τί;*[3] but also *πάντα δειμαίνειν φιλεῖ,* Aesch. Pers. 603.

84. *ἁπλοῦς ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς μῦθος ὁπλίζειν χέρα.* Cf. *ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυ,* Eur. Phoe. 469, but also *ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος· τήνδε μὲν στείχειν ἔσω,* Aesch. Choe. 552.

85. *μάλα σπουδῇ ποδός.* Cf. *καὶ μὴν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔρχεται σπουδῇ ποδός,* Eur. Hec. 216.

90. *πυκάζου τεύχεσιν δέμας σέθεν.* Cf. *κόσμῳ πυκάζου τῷδε,* Eur. Herac. 725, and *πύκαζε κρᾶτ' ἐμὸν νικηφόρον,* Eur. Tro. 353.

91. *τί δ' ἔστι; μῶν τις πολεμίων ἀγγέλλεται λόχος;* Cf. *τί δ' ἔστι τοῦ παρόντος ἐκπλῆσσον λόγου;* Eur. I. T. 240, and *τί δ' ἔστιν, Ἰφιγένεια, καινὸν ἐν δόμοις,* Eur. I. T. 1160.

105. *εἴθ' ἦσθ' ἀνὴρ εὔβουλος, ὡς δρᾶσαι χερί.* Cf. *εἴθ' ἦσθα δυνατὸς δρᾶν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἶ,* Eur. Herac. 731.

122. *πεπύργωται θράσει.* Cf. *ὃς πεπύργωσαι θράσει,* Eur. Orest. 1568, but also *χὴ μὲν τῇδ' ἐπυργοῦτο στολῇ,* Aesch. Pers. 195.

144. *σάλπιγγος αὐδήν.* Cf. *σάλπιγγος ἠχήν,* Eur. Tro. 1267, but also *βοὴν σάλπιγγος,* Aesch. Sept. 381.

154. *πρὸ γαίας τόνδε κίνδυνον ῥίψας.* Cf. *κίνδυνον ἐξ ἀμηχάνων ῥίπτοντες,* Eur. Herac. 148, and *κίνδυνον μέγαν ῥίπτοντες,* Eur. Fr. 406. The metaphor is the same as in *ἔργον ἐν κύβοις Ἄρης κρινεῖ,* Aesch. Sept. 401. See note to this expression in list IX.

168. *γαμεῖν ἑκ.*[4] Same expression in Eur. Andr. 1279. But cf. the third example in list XI.

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[1] See note to list IX.

[2] Note that Hagenbach gives this expression with a Sophoclean parallel in list IX. It cannot be evidence of imitation of both Sophocles and Euripides.

[3] Lachmann suggests that this is a proverbial expression; it seems highly probable.

[4] There is no significance in such a parallel as this.

178. *ἔστι χρυσὸς ἐν δόμοις.*[1] Cf. *εἴη δ' ἔμοιγε μήτε χρυσὸς ἐν δόμοις*, Eur. Med. 542.

186. *θούριον γόνον.* Cf. *θούριος Ἄρης*, Eur. Phoe. 240, but also *θούριος Ξέρξης*, Aesch. Pers. 720 and 756.

201. *ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς δόμους ἐφέστιος.* Cf. *δέξαι δὲ χώρᾳ καὶ δόμοις ἐφέστιον*, Eur. Med. 713, but also *δόμων ἐφέστιος ἐμῶν*, Aesch. Eum. 580.

202. *σκευῇ πρεπόντως σῶμ' ἐμὸν καθάψομαι.* Cf. *ἐν τῷ καθάψασ' ἀμφὶ παιδὶ σώματος;* Eur. Ion. 1006.

204. *εἶπ' εἴ τιν' ἄλλην ἀντὶ τῆσδ' ἕξεις στολήν.* Cf. *στολὴν δὲ τίνα φῂς ἀμφὶ χρῶτ' ἐμὸν βαλεῖν;* Eur. Bacch. 830. *στολή* in the same sense in Aesch. Pers. 195 quoted above on 122.

208. *λύκειον ἀμφὶ νῶτον ἄψομαι δορὰν κ.τ.λ.* Cf. *στολήν τε θηρὸς ἀμφέβαλλε σῷ κάρᾳ λέοντος, ἥπερ αὐτὸς ἐξωπλίζετο*, Eur. H. F. 465.

209. *χάσμα θηρός.* Cf. *δεινῷ χάσματι θηρός*, Eur. H. F. 363.

211. *τετράπουν μιμήσομαι λύκου κέλευθον.* Cf. *τετράποδος βάσιν θηρὸς τιθέμενος*, Eur. Hec. 1058.

216. *ἀλλ' εὖ σ' ὁ Μαίας παῖς ἐκεῖσε καὶ πάλιν πέμψειεν Ἑρμῆς.* Cf. *ἀλλά σ' ὁ Μαίας πομπαῖος ἄναξ πελάσειε δόμοις*, Eur. Med. 759, but also *ξυλλάβοι δ' ἐνδίκως παῖς ὁ Μαίας ἐπιφορώτατος*, Aesch. Choe. 808, and *Ἑρμῆς δ' εὐλόγως συνήγαγεν*, Aesch. Sept. 495.

274. *μάχας πρὸ χειρῶν καὶ δόρη βαστάζομεν.* Cf. *δέλτον τε γράφεις τήνδ' ἣν πρὸ χερῶν ἔτι βαστάζεις*, Eur. I. A. 35.

278. *ποίας πατρῴας γῆς ἐρημώσας πέδον;* Cf. *κεἰ μὴ τόδ' ἐκλιποῦσ' ἐρημώσεις πέδον*, Eur. Andr. 314, but also *τόνδ' ἐρημώσασ' ὄχον*, Aesch. Ag. 1054.

281. *λόγου δὲ δὶς τόσου μ' ἐκούφισας.* Cf. *λόγου δέ σε μακροῦ ἀποπαύσω*, Eur. Hik. 638.

282. *πρὸς Ἴδης ὀργάδας.* Cf. *πρὸς ὀργάδας*, Eur. Bacch. 445.

287. *Ἰδαῖον λέπας.* Cf. *Ἰδαῖον λέπας*, Eur. Andr. 295 and Fr. 415, but also *πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας*, Aesch. Ag. 310.

287. *φόβον παρέσχε.* Cf. *φόβον παρέσχε*, Eur. Hec. 1113, but also *πόνον παρασχών*, Aesch. Pers. 330, and *πένθος παρασχών*, Pers. 325.

296. *στείχων δ' ἄνακτος προυξερευνητὰς ὁδοῦ.* Cf. *ὡς ἂν προυξερευνήσω στίβον,*[2] Eur. Phoe. 92.

323. *μέγας πνέων.* This reading of Nauck's spoils H.'s parallel with Andr. 189, and Bacch. 640, which he cites.

329. *ἀρκοῦμεν οἱ σώζοντες.* Cf. *ἀρκοῦμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ προθνήσκοντες σέθεν*, Eur. Alc. 383, but Hagenbach himself in his Sophoclean list compares *ἀρκέσω θνήσκουσ' ἐγώ*, Soph. Ant. 547.

[1] There is no significance in such a parallel as this.

[2] There is no significance in this parallel except in the use of *προυξερευνητὰς* and *προυξερευνήσω*, which has already been noted in list I.

331. *σέλας θεοῦ.* Cf. *θεοῦ σέλας*, Eur. Hik. 469, but also *Διὸς σέλας*, Soph. Oed. Col. 95, and *φαιδρὸν ἁλίου σέλας*, Aesch. Eum. 927.

332. *πόλλ' ἀναστρέφει θεός.* Cf. *ὁ γὰρ θεὸς πάντ' ἀναστρέφει πάλιν*, Eur. Hik. 331.

357. *ὦ πατρὶς ὦ Φρυγία.* Cf. *ὦ κάλλιστον ὦ Κυκλώπιον*, Eur. Cycl. 266,[1] but also *ὦ πόλις ὦ πατρία*, Soph. Phil. 1213.

370. *ζάχρυσον πέλταν.* Cf. *ζαχρύσου πέλτης ἄναξ*, Eur. Alc. 498.

397. *τοὐπί σε.* The same expression in Eur. I. A. 1557, but not apparently in the same sense.

399. *οὐ γάρ τι λέξεις ὡς ἄκλητος ὢν φίλοις.* Cf. *οὐ μὴν ἐρεῖς γέ μ' ὡς ἀτιμάζων*, Eur. Alc. 658.

403. *ποίων δὲ δώρων κόσμον οὐκ ἐπέμψαμεν;* Cf. *ποῖον δὲ γαίας ἔρκος οὐκ ἀφίγμεθα;* Eur. Herac. 441.

409. *κατὰ στόμα.* Same expression occurs Eur. Herac. 801, but also Aesch. Choe. 571, and Fr. 434.

415. *πίστις οὐ σμικρὰ πόλει.* Cf. *ὅρκους, πίστιν οὐ σμικράν*, Eur. Hipp. 1037. According to Stobaeus we should read *πίστις* in this sense in Aesch. Sept. 54, instead of *πύστις*.

419. *ἄμυστιν δεξιούμενοι.* Cf. *ἄμυστιν ἑλκύσας*, Eur. Cycl. 417.

421. *λέγω κατ' ὄμμα σόν.* Cf. *κατ' ὄμμ' ἐλθὼν μάχῃ*, Eur. Andr. 1064, and *χὠ μὲν κατ' ὄμμα στὰς προσεύχεται θεῷ*,[2] Eur. Andr. 1117.

423. *εὐθεῖαν λόγων τέμνων κέλευθον.* Cf. *οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδόν*, Eur. Phoe. 1, and also *τίν' ἀμφ' αὐτᾶς ἔτι πόρον τέμνω γάμου λυτῆρα;* Aesch. Supp. 814.

427. *νόστον τὸν πρὸς Ἴλιον.* Cf. *πρὸς Ἴλιον νόστος*, Eur. I. A. 966, and *νόστος Ἰλίου πύργους ἔπι*, Eur. I. A. 1261. According to the scholiast *νόστος* is used in the same sense in *ἐπὶ φορβῆς νόστον*, Soph. Ph. 43.

430. *αἱματηρὸς πέλανος.* Cf. *αἱματηρὸν πέλανον*, Eur. Alc. 851. Cf. seventh example in list XI.

438. *ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς.* Same expression Eur. Orest. 57[3]. Cf. also *τοσόνδε ἐκόμπει μῦθον*, Soph. Aj. 770.

446. *ῥίπτεις κυβεύων τὸν πρὸς Ἀργείους Ἄρην.* Cf. *ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἄλλα βλήματ' ἐν κύβοις βαλεῖν πέποιθ'*, Eur. Hik. 330. See on 154 above.

453. *τοὺς μέγ' αὐχοῦντας.* Cf. *εἰ σὺ μέγ' αὐχεῖς*, Eur. Herac. 353.[3]

467. *μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας.* Cf. *διὰ μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας*, Eur. I. A. 1172.[3]

498. *ἔστι δ' αἰμυλώτατον κρότημ' Ὀδυσσεύς.* Cf. *οὔ τἄρ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐστιν αἰμύλος μόνος*, Eur. Fr. 709.

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[1] H. might have found a closer parallel in Med. 643, *ὦ πατρίς, ὦ δώματα.*

[2] The parallel is not exact in either case.

[3] There is no significance in such parallels as these.

530. ἑπτάπορoι Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι. Cf. ἐγγὺς τῆς ἑπταπόρου Πλειάδος, Eur. I. A. 7, and ἴει δ' ἐφ' ἑπτὰ Πλειάδων ἔχων δρόμον, Eur. Fr. 779. In the same way Aesch. (Fr. 304) uses ἑπτάροος of the Nile.

580. τί δῆτα δρῶμεν. The same expression Eur. I. T. 1188. τί δῆτα is frequent in Aesch.

596. καρδίαν δεδηγμένοι. Cf. καὶ δρῶν γε λύπῃ καρδίαν δηχθήσομαι, Eur. Alc. 1100. A common metaphor. Cf. συμφορὰ δάκνει, Aesch. Pers. 848.

608. δέσποιν' Ἀθάνα, φθέγματος γὰρ ᾐσθόμην τοῦ σοῦ συνήθη γῆρυν. Cf. κλύεις γὰρ αὐδὴν καίπερ οὐ παρὼν θεᾶς, Eur. I. T. 1447, and κλύων μὲν αὐδήν, ὄμμα δ' οὐχ ὁρῶν τὸ σόν, Eur. Hipp. 86, but also καὶ τἄλλα πόλλ' ἐπεικάσαι δίκαιον ἦν, εἰ μὴ παρόντι φθόγγος ἦν ὁ σημανῶν, Aesch. Supp. 250.

618. ὥστε ποταμίου κύκνου πτερόν. Cf. δι' αἰθέρος χιονόχρως κύκνου πτερῷ, Eur. Hel. 216.

625. τρίβων καὶ σοφός. Cf. σοφὸς καὶ τρίβων, Eur. Med. 686.

639. σαθροῖς λόγοισιν ἀμείψομαι. Cf. τοὺς λόγους εἶναι σαθρούς, Eur. Hec. 1190. A common metaphor. Cf. Pindar N. 8, 59, σαθρὸς κῦδος.

647. οὐδ' ἀμνημονῶ τιμῆς. Cf. κακῶν γὰρ τῶν τότ' οὐκ ἀμνημονῶ, Eur. I. T. 361.

693. τίς ἀνδρῶν ὁ βάς; Cf. use of ὁ in Ἔρως ὁ κατ' ὀμμάτων ἰὼν πόθον. Eur. Hipp. 525.

701. νησιώτης σποράδα κέκτηται βίον; This reading of Nauck's spoils H.'s parallel with Eur. Herac. 84.

721. ἐπὶ γᾶν Φρυγῶν ποδὸς ἴχνος βαλεῖν. Cf. κατ' Ἄργος ἴχνος θείην ποδός, Eur. I. T. 752.[1]

730. ἴσως γὰρ εἰς βόλον τις ἔρχεται. Cf. ἀνὴρ εἰς βόλον καθίσταται, Eur. Bacch. 848.[2]

732. συμφορὰ βαρεῖα. Cf. βαρείᾳ συμφορᾷ πεπληγμένος, Eur. Alc. 856. See note on this expression in list IX.

751. πῶς ἂν ὀλοίμην; Same expression in Eur. Alc. 864, and Med. 97.[3]

756. κακῶς πέπρακται. Cf. same expression in Eur. Med. 364, but also κακῶς δὲ πράξας, Aesch. Pers. 216, and εὖ πέπρακται, Aesch. Ag. 556.[4]

772. ἀφθόνῳ χερί. Cf. same expression Eur. Med. 612.[4]

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[1] These expressions are not parallel. Here, as elsewhere, the author of the Rhesus shows his originality in coining new phrases.

[2] This seems likely to have been a proverbial expression. If not, the parallel is striking, especially as Schwartz (*De metaphoris e mari et re navali petitis quaestiones Euripideae*, Keil, 1878, p. 20) says that this metaphor is not found in Aesch. or Soph.

[3] There is no significance in this.

[4] There can be no significance in such a parallel, unless one believes that our author literally made his play a piece of patchwork.

796. *βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα τραύματος.* Cf. *δορὸς ταχεῖαν ἄλοκα,* Eur. H. F. 164, but also *ὄνυχος ἄλοκι νεοτόμῳ,* Aesch. Choe. 25. *βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα* is used metaphorically in Aesch. Sept. 580.

796. *φασγάνου πληγῆς.* Cf. *φασγάνων πληγάς,* Eur. Andr. 1074, but also *πληγῇ δορός,* Aesch. Pers. 307.

803. *εἰκάσαι πάρεστι.* Cf. same expression, Eur. Hel. 421,[1] but also *οὐκ ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰκάσαι,* Aesch. Choe. 516.

834. *πλέκων λόγους.* Cf. *ποίας μηχανὰς πλέκουσιν;* Eur. Andr. 66, but also *δόλον πλέκεις,* Aesch. Choe. 219.

855. *τὸ πάμπαν.* Cf. same expression, Eur. Fr. 196.

870. *ἅλις τῶν τεθνηκότων.* Cf. same expression, Eur. Hec. 278, but also *ἅλις λελῃγμένων,* Aesch. Eum. 678, and *πημονῆς δ' ἅλις,* Aesch. Ag. 1656.

877. *λάζυσθ' · ἄγοντες εἰς δόμους ἐμοὺς . . . πορσύνετε.* Cf. *λάζυσθε τήνδε κεἰς δόμους κομίζετε,* Eur. Phoe. 1660.[1]

879. *ὑμᾶς δ' ἰόντας τοῖσιν ἐν τείχει χρεὼν Πριάμῳ τε καὶ γέρουσι σημῆναι νεκρὸνς θάπτειν κελεύειν.* Cf. *σημαίνειν οὐ ταῦρον ἀλλὰ παρθένον σφάξαι,* Eur. Herac. 489, but also *Ἀγαμέμνονος γυναικὶ σημανῶ τορῶς, εὐνῆς ἐπαντείλασαν . . . ἐπορθιάζειν,* Aesch. Ag. 26.

904. *γένους κοινωνίαν.* Cf. *παίδων κοινωνίαν,* Eur. Phoe. 16.[2]

949. *σοφιστὴν δ' ἄλλον οὐκ ἐπάξομαι.* Cf. *μάντιν οὐχ ἕτερον ἄξομαι,* Eur. H. F. 912.[3]

974. *πένθος οἴσω.* Cf. *οἴσω δὲ πένθος,* Eur. Alc. 336, but also *πημονὰς φέρειν,* Aesch. Pers. 296.

974. *ῥᾷον οἴσω.* Cf. *ῥᾷον σίσεις,* Eur. Hipp. 205,[3] but also *φέρειν ὡς ῥᾷστα,* Aesch. Pro. 104.

980. *ὦ παιδοποιοὶ συμφοραί, πόνοι βροτῶν, κ.τ.λ.* Cf. *ζηλῶ δ' ἀγάμους ἀτέκνους τε βροτῶν,* Eur. Alc. 882, *δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν καὶ φέρει φίλτρον μέγα,* Eur. I. A. 917, *δεινὸν γυναιξὶν αἱ δ' ὠδίνων γοναί,* Eur. Phoe. 355.[3]

In general the same criticism of Hagenbach's method may be made as in the case of the expressions in list IX. There remain, however, in this list of Euripidean expressions more cases in which no other parallel than his can be given. Is this evidence of deliberate imitation of Euripides? To my mind it is not. In the first place many of the parallels are of no significance, as has already been

[1] There can be nothing significant in such a parallel as this.

[2] See note [4], p. 88.

[3] It seems to me that these expressions are not parallel. The idea in the passage from the Rhesus is quite a different one.

pointed out, others are far-fetched, and the number of those which show such imitation or adaptation as is shown in the sixth example in list XI. are very few. Even were they more numerous, they would not prove our author to be a servile imitator of Euripides. Euripides himself is justly charged by Aristophanes[1] with diligently reading and imitating Aeschylus and other poets, and Schirlitz[2] gives a list of writers who 'partim consulto partim fortuito' have drawn on Euripides for words and expressions, without laying themselves open to the charge of being servile imitators. The judgment of Schirlitz on the Rhesus is interesting:[3] 'Praeterea examinavi Rhesi fabulam: quam qui composuit, tum[4] Aeschylea nonnulla, Sophoclea, Euripidea recepit nusquam praeterea obvia, tum ipse nove dictorum partimque audacter fuit artifex.'

This judgment is supported by our word lists. It seems fair to conclude that there is no evidence in the language and style of the Rhesus strong enough to prove that Euripides wrote the play, or that its author was a servile imitator. On the other hand, this last list, added to the other evidence, makes it probable that the author of the Rhesus was familiar with all the works of Euripides, and hence lived after his time.

In considering the following list of Aeschylean expressions, the reader should remember that many expressions which seem to have been derived from Aeschylus have already been cited.

XI. List of expressions which suggest imitation of Aeschylus.

22. κοίτην πανόπλους κατέχοντας. Cf. κατέχοντα χαμεύνην, Aesch. Ag. 1541.

163. κέρδος πρὸς ἔργῳ τὴν χάριν τίκτει διπλῆν. Cf. καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τίκτεται,[5] Aesch. Sept. 424.

168. οὐκ ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ μειζόνων γαμεῖν θέλω. Cf. τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριστεύει μακρῷ,[5] Aesch. Pro. 916.

179. καὶ μὴν λαφύρων γ' αὐτὸς αἱρήσει παρών. θεοῖσιν αὐτὰ πασσάλευε πρὸς δόμους. Cf. θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν, Aesch. Ag. 583.

288. ἑστίαν χθονός. Same expression in Aesch. Supp. 377.

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[1] *Frogs*, 943, 1049.

[2] *De Euripide novi sermonis conditore*, p. 7.

[3] l.c. p. 9.

[4] sic; probably for *cum*.

[5] Perhaps a proverbial expression.

308. πολλοῖσι σὺν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον. Cf. χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον, Aesch. Sept. 373.
430. αἱματηρὸς πέλανος. Cf. πέλανος αἱματοσφαγής, Aesch. Pers. 818.
514. ἀμπείρας ῥάχιν. Cf. ὑπὸ ῥάχιν παγέντες, Aesch. Eum. 190.
934. ἄστυ κέλσαι. Cf. κέλσαι γαῖαν, Aesch. Supp. 15.

Most of these expressions are not of great weight. They certainly do not indicate servile imitation of Aeschylus. The parallel in 308, as has been said, is striking, and all the evidence thus far supports the view that if our author took any one of the tragedians as his model, that one was Aeschylus.

The metrical structure of the Rhesus has been so thoroughly worked over that nothing more can be done than to give a summary of the conclusions which have been reached. It is generally agreed the metre is such, with regard to the resolution of long syllables, as was usual before the 89th Olympiad. Although agreeing on this point, Vater and Hermann draw different conclusions from it. Vater contends that the Rhesus was therefore written before that date, a view which Spengler[1] supports. Hermann however says:[2] 'Quoniam numeri sunt quales ante Olympiadem LXXXIX, cetera autem qualia nec ante illam Olympiadem nec proximis post eam temporibus scripta esse credibile videtur, *multo recentiorem esse fabulam contendo numeris ad optima exempla conformatis.*' Lachmann[3] sees no signs of imitation of Sophocles or Euripides, but of Aeschylus. The metre, however, he thinks corresponds to that of Sophocles and Euripides at their best.

The case is well summed up by v. Wilamowitz:[4] 'In anapaestis τὸν Σοφόκλειον ὑποφαίνει χαρακτῆρα scriptor Rhesi, in senariis vero ne antilabas quidem admittit (quas in trochaicis tetrametris habet 686 sqq.) nedum laxiori indulgeat disciplinae. Docemur igitur hac quoque in re superstitibus etiamtum Sophocle Euripideque sensim relaxatum esse veteris tragoediae severitatem, duce ac principe in numeris Sophocle, in rerum tractatione Euripide, a duum virorum magnorum exemplo cum aequales pependisse tum eos qui proxime sequerentur (Agathonem, Critiam, Chaeremonem, Carcinum dico; de ceteris parum constat) at fuisse tempus quo Athenienses diffluentis

[1] *De Rheso Tragoedia*, p. 12.
[2] l.c. p. 280.
[3] *De Choricis systematis trag. graec.*, p. 116.
[4] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 198.

levitatis taederet; rediisse igitur quantum possent ad antiquiora exempla; atque suspicare licet hac ex causa Theodectae gloriam non minimam promanasse. Cuius severioris Musae unum poetam inlustravit Meinekius Moschionem, cum doceret eum ab omni pede trisyllabo in senariis cavisse; mediocris ingenii fetus at consimili subtilitatis amore commendati extat Rhesus, saeculo quarto exeunte haud dubie Athenis scripta.'

It will be seen that Hermann and v. Wilamowitz substantially agree, except that while the latter assigns the Rhesus to the end of the fourth century, the former attributes it to an Alexandrine writer. The principal argument against the latter view is the number of the choral passages. We know that the Alexandrine writers so subordinated the chorus that Lycophron in his *Cassandra* dispensed with it altogether. In our play the chorus forms an essential part of the play, and the choral passages are marked by a simplicity and beauty which does not suggest Alexandria.

A line of argument which has been wholly neglected in all special dissertations on the Rhesus, but has been touched on incidentally by writers on the grammar of Euripides, consists of deductions from syntactical peculiarities. Evidence of this kind seems especially valuable; unfortunately, however, it is difficult to collect. Some of these writers have left the Rhesus out of consideration altogether as non-Euripidean, and in the other cases it is difficult to collect and classify the scattered references. Such material as I have been able to gather is given below.

Tycho Mommsen,[1] in examining the use of σύν and of μετά with the genitive in Euripides, finds the latter construction more frequent in Euripides than in the other tragedians. Of the Rhesus he says:[2] 'Der Rhesus hat von allem am wenigsten μετά c. gen. und verräth sich auch dadurch als unecht.' He continues: 'Denn die Zeit der ersten Alexandriner werwarf diese Construction wieder fast vollständig. Hiernach zu urtheilen könnte der Vf. des Rhesus mit Lykophron, Apollonius Rhodius, Kallimachus, Leonidas von Tarent gleichzeitig gewesen sein.'

Harmsen[3] says: 'Multo vero rarius quam adiectivum invenitur

[1] Program des Stad. Gym. zu Frankfort a. M. [2] p. 5.
[3] *De verborum collocatione apud Aesch. Soph. Eur. capita selecta*, p. 11.

genitivus post praepositionem collocatus. . . . Rhesus hoc in re longe recedit ab usu dicendi Euripideo in quo quidem inveniuntur octo huiusmodi exempla.'[1] Further on, speaking of anastrophe, he says:[2] 'Inter Euripidis singulas fabulas hac in re nullum fere discrimen est; tantum id commemoratione dignum est, Rhesum fabulam multo minorem exemplorum numerum praebere, quam genuinas fabulas Euripidis. Sunt enim in Rheso tres loci (72, 397, 930), genuinae fabulae vero singulae octo minimum exempla continent ut Alc., vel novem ut Heracl., vel tredecim ut Cyclops, quamquam multo brevior haec fabula est ceteris.'

Tachan,[3] speaking of the use of the infinitive with final force, says: 'Quam clarissime elucebit, id quod supra iam monui, exemplorum copiam eo maiorem fieri quo recentiore tempore scriptae sunt fabulae.' After stating the principle on which his infinitives are selected,[4] excluding such cases as the infinitive with δίδωμι and φοβοῦμαι, δεινὸς λέγειν, καιρὸς ἀκοῦσαι, etc., he gives a table, from which the following selections are interesting: —

	All cases.	ὡς, ὅπως, ἵνα, μή.	Participle.	Infinitive.
Alcestis, 1162.	13	8	2	3
Medea, 1419.	21	16	3	2
Hippolytus, 1466.	24	19	2	3
Electra, 1359.	44	26	10	8
Herc. 1428.	41	29	6	6
Phoe. 1766.	43	25	13	5
Orest. 1693.	41	34	3	4
Rhesus, 996.	25	8	9	8

[1] 150, 155, 203, 221, 471, 502, 598, 660. [2] p. 25.

[3] *De enuntiationum finalium apud Eurip. ratione atque usu*, p. 72.

[4] 'Eos tantum commemorabo infinitivos qui re vera pro enuntiatione finali extant.'

Tietzel[1] shows no important variation in the Rhesus from the plays of Euripides. He accepts the Rhesus as written by Euripides, and assigns it to the years 445–442 B.C.

Professor Goodwin,[2] speaking of the independent clause with μή or μὴ οὐ expressing desire to avert an object of fear, notes that after Homer we find no examples of the independent clause either with μή or with μὴ οὐ until Euripides, who has three cases of the former and one of the latter.[3] An example with μὴ οὐ occurs in the Rhesus.[4] Cases of this kind are so rare that the coincidence in usage must be admitted to be striking. It is possible that the author of the Rhesus followed Homer directly, whom he has followed in other respects.[5] It is perhaps more reasonable, however, to admit that he followed Euripides.

Speaking of the use of πρίν with the indicative in poetry, Professor Goodwin[6] notes in Aeschylus[7] one example, after a negative; in Sophocles one,[8] after an affirmative; in Euripides five,[9] all after affirmatives; while the Rhesus has two.[10]

This last coincidence is very striking, for unless our author is here influenced by Pindar, who has three cases, he is certainly following Euripides. Imitation of Pindar seems unlikely, since neither of the cases is in a lyric passage.

From these illustrations it may be seen that this field is a promising one. The examples are not selected, but are all that I have been able to collect. It will be seen that three of the six give evidence against the view that Euripides wrote the play, two give equally strong

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[1] *De Conj. temporal. usu Euripideo.*

[2] *Greek Moods and Tenses*, 264.

[3] Alc. 315, Orest. 776, H. F. 1399, Tro. 982, of which the last is with μὴ οὐ.

[4] 115.

[5] Note the 'Hom. Reminiscenzen' of Eysert (see p. 74 of this paper) δέχθαι, μέμβλωκα, etc.

[6] *Moods and Tenses*, 633. He classes the Rhesus in this note among the plays of Euripides, but from the language of the other note it would seem that it is rather for convenience than because he looks on the Rhesus as the work of Euripides.

[7] Pro. 479. [8] O. T. 775.

[9] And. 1145, I. A. 489, Med. 1173, Hec. 132, Alc. 182. In the second and third examples a negative is implied.

[10] 294, 568.